

## Tilburg University

1997 m. Europos Sąjungos direktyva - kalbos politikos kūrimo pavyzdys daugiakalbėje Lietuvoje. [The 1997 Directive as a case of language policy in multilingual Lithuania]

Kroon, S.

*Published in:*

Manor ir Tavo šalis Lietuva. [My and your country Lithuania]

*Publication date:*

2003

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Kroon, S. (2003). 1997 m. Europos Sąjungos direktyva - kalbos politikos kūrimo pavyzdys daugiakalbėje Lietuvoje. [The 1997 Directive as a case of language policy in multilingual Lithuania]. In R. Totoraitis, & et al. (Eds.), *Manor ir Tavo šalis Lietuva. [My and your country Lithuania]* (pp. 15-26). Kronta.

### General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

# **The 1977 EU Directive as a case of language policy in multilingual Lithuania**

**Sjaak Kroon** (Babylon, Tilburg University)

## **1 Introduction**

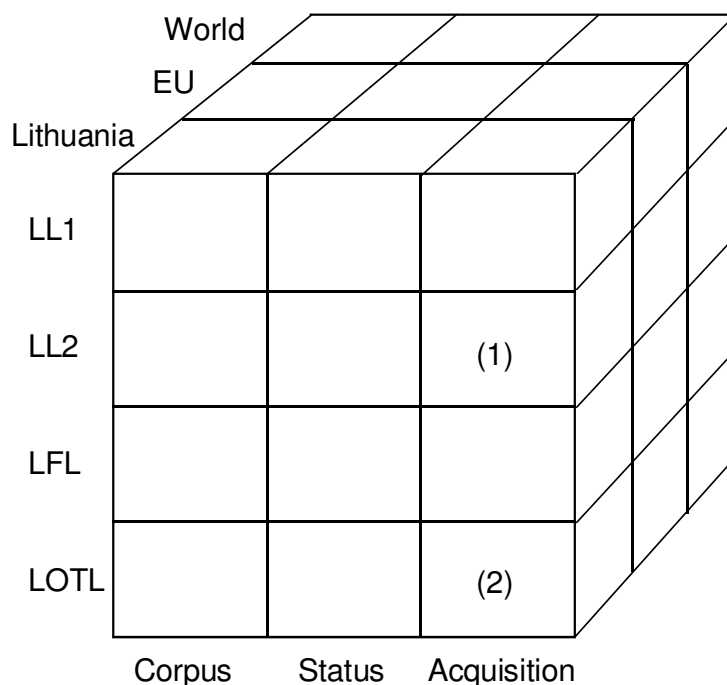
On the first of may 2004 Estonia became a member state of the European Union. As a consequence it had to be ready to implement common rules, norms and legislative regulations. In the field of education the main regulations that had to be implemented is the *Directive of the Council of the European Communities on the schooling of children of migrant workers* of 25 July 1977 (EU Directive 77/486/EEC; henceforth referred to as the Directive). This Directive represents a supranational reaction on a number of fundamental demographic changes that were taking place in the nineteen seventies in EU member states as a consequence of mainly economically motivated migration movements. Ongoing labour migration, family reunion, migrant marriages and child births lead to major changes in, among other things, the educational landscape in European cities. Hitherto monolingual schools and monolingual teachers were confronted with multilingual pupils with an often limited proficiency in the schools' languages of instruction, being the national languages of the immigration countries. The Directive reacted on this situation by offering to children of migrant workers the teaching of the official language of the host state as a subject and the teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin. This decision was taken in order to contribute to solving the growing educational problems of immigrant children. As such the conclusion of the Directive in 1977 and its implementation through the years in a multitude of member states - also including most recently the candidate member states Lithuania and Estonia - clearly is an act of language policy and planning, "intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers" and "to move the entire society in some direction deemed 'good' or 'useful'" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997:xi). It fits into what in De Vries' (1995:142) typology of governmental responses to the claims of linguistic minorities is called "concessional accommodation, i.e. the recognition of claims by minority language communities, often involving the granting of language rights in various domains (...)." First and second language teaching to immigrant children implies granting them the right to be taught in these languages and means working towards 'additive bilingualism' (Baker, 2001), which is considered to contribute to school and societal success of these children and as such to creating a 'better' society.

In this contribution we will deal with the Directive and its implementation in Lithuania mainly from a language policy and planning perspective. In Section 2 we will go into the different dimensions of language policy development that can be distinguished in the Directive. Section 3 contains an overview of the policy making process and tries to interpret the Directive within this framework. In Section 4 the Directive is confronted with different visions of language an multilingualism. Section 5 goes into the position of the central actors that play a role in implementing the Directive. In Section 6, finally some conclusions are drawn. In all sections it is tried to combine aspects of the origin of the Directive and aspects of its contemporary implementation in Lithuania.

## **2 Languages, domains and localities in language policy**

The languages, domains and localities that play a role in language policy and planning can be visualised as a cube in which these three different dimensions come together. Combining these three dimensions, each of them consisting of a number of different aspects, in a cube leads to distinguishing a multitude of little cubes, each

representing a specific domain of language policy, dealing with a specific language, in a specific locality. This cube was developed by the author as a contribution to a language policy advice regarding the position of Dutch in a European perspective (Smeets, 2002). It is here adapted to the Lithuanian situation and will be used to discuss some language policy aspects of the Directive.



*Figure 1: Lithuanian language policy*

Language policy first and foremost occurs in multilingual situations. Monolingual situations, generally speaking, only have a limited need for language policy development. Language policy, therefore, first of all deals with different languages. In this respect, in the case of Lithuania at least four (types of) languages can be distinguished (see the vertical axis of the cube). The first is Lithuanian as a first language (LL1). This language has to be mentioned here because it is the dominant national language in Lithuania. It is used in public institutions, it is taught in schools, and a certain knowledge of it is compulsory for getting citizenship. Lithuanian as the official language of the country constitutes the norm for teaching and learning Lithuanian as a foreign language (LFL) and a second language (LL2). Lithuanian as a foreign language, i.e. Lithuanian as it is taught abroad in situations where the language has no other function than being a school subject, can provide experiences with and examples of didactic approaches and teaching materials that can be adapted in order to be used in second language teaching. The main difference between teaching Lithuanian as a foreign and as a second language is that in the latter case the language is at the same time taught, and used as a language of communication in society. The fourth language that is included in the cube is in fact a category, not a single language. It refers to languages other than Lithuanian (LOTL), i.e. the languages of indigenous, national ethnic minorities, such as Russians, Poles, Belo Russians, Ukrainians etc., the languages of new immigrant minorities that have or opt for Lithuania as their permanent or temporary place of residence, such as refugees from Chechnya, migrant workers from Russia or Germany etc., but also to foreign languages like English that have a place in the curriculum in Lithuanian schools.

The Directive applies to Lithuanian as the official language of the host state and to the mother tongues (and cultures) of the immigrants' countries of origin. From the above it will be clear that the former in the educational context of the Directive refers to teaching Lithuanian in a second language didactic approach. As to the languages other than Lithuanian the Directive is explicitly limited to the mother tongues of newly arriving immigrants. The interesting point here is that some of the languages of newcomers are at the same time the languages of indigenous ethnic minorities that already for decades or even centuries live in Lithuania and that are already part of the educational system as languages of instruction. Examples are Polish (language of instruction in 73 schools in 2000-2001), Russian (language of instruction in 69 schools in 2000-2001) etc. (Proposal, 2001; Grumadiene, 1997). It can be considered a challenge to try to establish fruitful mutual relationships between expertise and experiences in these theoretically and historically separated field of language policy.

In language policy handbooks like Cooper (1989) and Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), generally speaking three main types or domains of language planning are distinguished: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (see the horizontal axis of the cube). According to Cooper (1989) status planning is about the allocation of functions among a community's languages, corpus planning is about language form, and acquisition planning is about the teaching and learning of languages.

Within this distinction the implementation of the Directive in Lithuania first of all represents an example of acquisition planning. It is about teaching and learning languages. It offers, more precisely, provisions for initial reception, teaching and learning of Lithuanian as a second language, teacher training for Lithuanian as a second language, and teaching and learning immigrant mother tongues and cultures to children of migrant workers. Although being mainly an example of acquisition planning, as such the Directive also includes aspects of status planning. A selected and limited number of languages are granted the status of being a school subject. For Lithuanian (as a second language) this might be nothing new, but for most of the minority languages that were not included in the curriculum so far, being taught at school implies a considerable added value, prestige and status. In the implementation of the Directive also corpus planning is involved. In order to be able to teach Lithuanian as a second language, the corpus of that language has to be made available in a certain form, as in e.g. bilingual dictionaries, grammars, pronunciation guides etc. More or less the same applies for minority languages. Here additional work can be necessary depending on, for example, the level of development of the language in question in terms of its standardisation and codification and the availability of primers, textbooks and other written (teaching) material. Whereas status planning decisions are mainly taken by politicians, the necessary work in the field of acquisition and corpus planning regarding the 'chosen' languages that results from these decisions is generally speaking left to linguists, teachers, teacher trainers, textbook writers and curriculum developers.

The third language policy dimension in the cube is locality. The language policy of any given country can focus on internal as well as external localities. In the case of Lithuania, the internal locality, for example, applies to developing language policies for regular education or for acquiring citizenship. The second locality in the cube refers to a European (EU) as well as a global dimension (world). Lithuanian language policy at a global scale would for example be the financial facilitation of teaching Lithuanian *extra muros* in universities all over the world. The Directive forms a clear case of Lithuania implementing a European language policy at the national level (internal locality). In order to become a member of the EU Lithuania has to adhere to and implement on its own territory a body of European policies, among which the 1977 Directive.

Summarizing the above, it can be concluded that the implementation of the Directive in Lithuania basically involves two different cubes: acquisition planning for Lithuanian as a second language in Lithuania (Figure 1, cube 1) and acquisition planning for other languages than Lithuanian in Lithuania (Figure 1, cube 2). In a broader perspective, also status and corpus planning aspects can be added, leading to four more cubes involved.

### 3 Language policy making

In an ideal world language policy comes into existence through the so-called policy making process or cycle. In this cycle eight consecutive steps can be distinguished: (1) ideology formation, (2) agenda formation, (3) policy preparation, (4) policy formation, (5) policy implementation, (6) policy evaluation, (7) feedback, and (8) policy termination (Kroon, 2000).

Generally speaking policy can be defined as an answer to a problem. It can be considered as an attempt to solve, diminish or prevent a problem in a certain way, i.e., by purposive action. A problem, in this context, can be described as a discrepancy between a norm and an impression of an actual or expected situation. What is considered to be a problem and the actual definition of a problem, in other words, heavily depends on the (ethical, social, political, cultural, linguistic etc.) norms that are valued and adhered to by members of a certain society. It goes without saying that the identification and definition of problems as well as the proposals for policy and action to solve these problems can differ a great deal depending of which societal groups - majority or minority, elites or counter elites - take the lead. The identification, definition and prioritising of problems that are suitable for policy development are main activities at the beginning stages of the policy making process, dealing with ideology formation, setting the agenda, preparing the policy, and, finally, writing it up in a policy document. These are the stages in which what Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) call 'language policy' is developed: the body of ideas underlying the intended language change. This agreed upon policy is then implemented, evaluated, adapted and terminated (or continued, of course). This part of the policy cycle is close to Kaplan and Baldauf's 'language planning', the actual execution of the policy.

The relevance of the above distinctions for the implementation of the Directive in Lithuania is that there is a considerable distance in time and space between the original development of the Directive and its actual execution in Lithuania. The EC Directive as a policy document has been discussed, developed, agreed upon and implemented for the first time in a European societal and political context that is totally different from the context Lithuania is facing today. The Directive might have been an adequate answer to the problematic educational situation of children of migrant workers migrating in those days from one EU member state to another (Reid & Reich, 1992), it is in its original wording *not per se* an adequate answer to the situation of immigrant minorities in contemporary Lithuania. This is not to say, of course, that it is *per se not* an adequate answer to this problem. The only point that is highlighted here, is that the implementation of a given policy is more likely to be successful if this policy has been (at least co-)produced by the majority and minority groups that are affected by it. The adoption and incorporation into the national Lithuanian policy system of the Directive, as part of the so-called *acquis communautaire*, i.e., the ensemble of EU rules, norms, laws and regulations, for Lithuania as a candidate member state is simply obligatory and not really open for discussion. In Lithuania the Directive is an example of implementing a policy without having gone through the stage of ideology formation, which stage can be considered decisive in the process of getting the societal support that is considered necessary for successful implementation.

Looking back at the implementation of the Directive in the EU in the nineteen seventies and eighties it becomes clear that also in these early years the Directive was already interpreted and executed in different ways. In the United Kingdom for example the implementation of the Directive was not limited to children of migrant workers from EU member states, as the Directive explicitly stipulates, but also applied to children from immigrants from parts of the former British Empire in India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. This expansion of the scope of the Directive in the UK resulted in community language teaching in languages like Urdu, Panjabi and Gujarati. Another example is that in the United Kingdom on the basis of the Directive, apart from the already existing teaching Italian as a foreign language, also Italian as a community language was introduced (Kroon, 1992).

If policies turn out not to be fit anymore to solve the problems that they were developed to solve, they should be adapted to the developing circumstances. In for example the Netherlands the policy of teaching immigrant minority languages and cultures as a subject in primary education in accordance with the Directive, developed into a policy of using these languages also as extra languages of instruction, i.e. as tools for helping immigrant minority children to be successful in all school subjects. The most recent development here is that the now (May 2003) outgoing Cabinet in its 2002 strategic mission statement decided to even totally do away with immigrant minority language teaching in schools and to exclusively focus on Dutch (Strategisch akkoord, 2002).

In the Lithuanian situation these considerations point at the necessity of a fundamental ideological, political and scientific discussion of teaching Lithuanian as a second language as well as teaching the immigrants' mother tongues and cultures, dealing with issues such as the policy's aims, target groups, target languages, didactic approaches etc. The importance of this discussion - that as a matter of fact to a certain extent already took place in the preparation phase of the Matra Pre-Accession project and that was continued during the project's execution - can be illustrated by referring to the needs of the new immigrants to Lithuania. As regards newly arriving Western European immigrants from Germany or England, one might for example ask whether they really need or want to learn Lithuanian as a second language in order to be able to assimilate and have good educational and societal opportunities or simply rely on English as a *lingua franca*, and whether or not they really need or want state support to maintain their mother tongues and cultures through education? Furthermore, as regards old and new Russian immigrants one could ask why the Directive does only apply to the newcomers and not to the former group - formally being an indigenous ethnolinguistic minority in Lithuania. And what about refugees and economic immigrants from countries like Chechnya, Afghanistan and a number of former SU republics that are now independent states, who, in their characteristics have more in common with the original target groups of the Directive than contemporary immigrants from Western European countries. Will they be permanent settlers and ultimately become Lithuanian citizens, wanting to learn Lithuanian, or will they simply move to Western Europe as soon as the opportunity arises. Will they want to maintain their mother tongues and cultures, and, if yes, who will be able to develop teaching materials for these languages and teach them. The above also has to do with numbers. In the nineteen seventies Western Europe had to deal with a considerable influx of immigrants that, irrespective of contemporary rhetoric of immigrants as well as governments, came to stay and called for systematic measures in order to prevent these groups from becoming a structurally less developed ethnic underclass of society. The Directive was only one of the means that were applied to reach this goal. In the contemporary Lithuanian situation, however, not only the number of new immigrants is rather limited, there are also no reliable prognoses as to growth and permanence of stay in this respect. Much will depend on the developments in countries South-East of Lithuania, such as Russia (16 pupils), Ukraine (11), China (1), Vietnam (1), Georgia (1), Chechnya (47), Iraq

(4), Afghanistan (10), Uzbekistan (2) and Kazakhstan (3), where immigrants to Lithuania are mainly expected to come from as is shown by 2001-2002 Ministry of Education figures of immigrant pupils' entry in secondary schools (that by the way also contain 2 Danish, 5 German, 7 Polish, 3 Israeli, 2 North American and 1 Estonian pupils), and 2001-2002 Ministry of Education enrolment figures of Lithuanian origin pupils from other countries in the secondary school 'Lithuanian House' in Vilnius containing remigrated pupils from Russia (128), Latvia (10), Ukraine (24), Moldova (5), Kazakhstan (19), Turkmenistan (4), Kirghizistan Tadzhikistan (2), Poland (8), Belarus (22), Uzbekistan (3), Georgia (3), Swiss (1) and France (1).

#### **4 Language as a problem, a right and a resource**

The 1977 EU Directive is part of a tradition of international policy making that can be located in the broad field of language and human rights. De Varennes (1996), Trifunovska & De Varennes (2001) and Extra & Gorter (2002) provide extensive historical overviews of international and national activities and documents in this field. In the overview of declarations, treaty's, directives, resolutions, conventions and recommendations given by Extra & Gorter (2002), starting with the United Nations' *Universal Declaration on Human Rights* (1948) and ending with the *Declaration of Oegstgeest: Moving away from a monolingual habitus*, concluded at a 2000 Expert Seminar of the European Cultural Foundation, the 1977 EC Directive takes a special position since it not only, as most other texts do, focuses on taking "(...) appropriate measures to promote, in coordination with normal education, teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin (...)" (Article 3) of the children under consideration, but also and at the same time on taking "appropriate measures to ensure that free tuition to facilitate initial reception is offered (...) including, in particular, the teaching (...) of the official language or one of the official languages of the host State" (Article 2), i.e. the country of immigration. Interesting of course is that the teaching of the official language of the host state has to be 'ensured', whereas the teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin (only) has to be promoted.

The underlying issue here is a vision of language and multilingualism. According to Baker (2001:368ff) three perspectives can be distinguished here: language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource. The teaching of the official language of the host state to immigrant minorities is a measure that starts from the language-as-a-problem approach, considering those who only speak the language of their country of origin as having a problem, potentially causing complications and difficulties in personal life, education and society in an immigration situation. This problem can be solved by learning the dominant language, i.e. by integration or assimilation into the majority language and culture. This process often goes hand in hand with less frequently using and eventually losing the mother tongue (i.e., 'subtractive bilingualism'; Baker, 2001). Promoting measures for teaching the mother tongue, i.e. the minority group's own language, on the other hand, takes a rights and/or resource perspective. Language can be considered a basic human right on a personal level, a group level and an international level. Teaching the mother tongues of immigrant minorities as a subject, as stipulated in the Directive, is an example of a language-as-a-right perspective. It should be noted here that this perspective is recently facing serious criticism by, among others, Blommaert (2001) who mainly questions the use of mother tongues as languages of instruction in situations where these languages potentially form a burden rather than a prerequisite for emancipation (see also Hailemariam, 2002). Immigrant minorities' mother tongues can also be used as a resource in teaching and learning processes: education can start from the principle of children becoming and staying bilingual instead of becoming monolingual speakers of the dominant language.

Following this line of argument the Directive in its origin can be considered as 'rights driven' form of language policy (Ozolins, 2003): it was meant to contribute to the emancipation and improvement of the educational and societal position of certain minorities. In its implementation, however, in new member states of the EU, the Directive is much more an example of a 'policy driven' language policy: it has to be applied not because there is a clear perspective on the specific problems that it is meant to help solving and the specific ways in which it is expected to contribute to these solutions, but mainly because it simply exists and is part of the *acquis communautaire*. Put differently: would English immigrants to Lithuania be needing extra help to maintain their mother tongue English, and would they need or want to learn Lithuanian in order to be successful in Lithuanian society, and could policy actions to promote second language and mother tongue learning be considered forms of emancipatory, i.e. rights driven language policy. And, to take a totally different perspective: how would these questions be answered for a refugee immigrant family from Afghanistan? These are no easy questions to answer. No wonder that there are doubts in some circles as to the usefulness of the implementation of the Directive in its original form in totally new circumstances, simply because, for symbolic reasons mainly, it has to be implemented.

## 5 Language policy coordination

One of the outcomes of the international evaluation study of the various projects that were carried out within the framework of the Directive has been that the implementation of the Directive already in the nineteen seventies was a rather complex endeavour (Reid & Reich, 1992). This complexity mainly has to do with the variety of aspects and measures that had to be taken under the Directive, and as a consequence, the variety of actors that had to be involved.

In language policy and planning, generally speaking, three different types of actors are involved: policy makers, policy implementers and the target group. In the case of the Directive, originally the EU and its member states can be considered the central policy makers. In the case of the implementation of the Directive in Lithuania, the situation is a little bit more complicated. The Lithuanian government, more specifically the Ministry of Education, can be considered policy maker or developer and implementer at the same time. The Ministry has to implement a Directive on request of the EU, being the original policy maker, and at the same time has to adapt the Directive to the Lithuanian situation within the framework of the Matra Pre-Accession project. In this sense the Ministry also played a role as policy maker. Other groups of actors involved in the implementation of the Directive are school authorities, curriculum and teaching materials developers, teacher trainers, and teachers of Lithuanian as a second language and immigrant minority languages. The target group in Lithuania as in the EU member states in which the Directive was originally implemented, are migrant workers' children, i.e., pupils in (reception classes) in Lithuanian schools. It must be noted, however, that from the onset of the MATRA project, the Ministry of Education has the intention to include children from migrants and refugees from outside the EU.

As regards the position of actors in language policy initiatives, a distinction can be made between top down and bottom up movements. If a policy is considered to be a reaction on a problem, it can start at the macro level, i.e., on the initiative of a government (top down) that wants to influence the problematic situation by provisions, measures, laws etc. A policy can also start at the micro level, i.e., on the initiative of the people or their spokesman (bottom up) that directly experience the problem, for example in the classroom. A major issue in this respect is the distance between top and bottom, between macro and micro level. It often happens that the signals from the bottom reach the top in a distorted way only, i.e., in a way that



cannot lead to relevant policy making. At the same time it happens that the measures intended at the macro level to be taken are just adopted as rhetoric, and not really implemented, let alone incorporated, at the micro level in the situation where they were designed for. One of the reasons for this kind of mismatch between policy making and policy implementation has to do with the absence in many cases of an intermediate or meso level between the micro and macro level.

Given its specific history, the top down implementation of the Directive in Lithuania runs the risk of suffering from this general fallacy of policy making: the absence of an intermediate level between policy makers, i.e. the Lithuanian government or, better, the EU on the one hand, and the teachers who have to teach Lithuanian as a second language and immigrant mother tongues and cultures on the other. A possible means to deal with this problem is creating this intermediate level. This could be done by creating the position of a so-called language policy coordinator.

The above can be visualised as two combined triangles (see Figure 2). The inverted, dotted triangle represents a top down policy activity. It starts at the macro level of supranational authorities like the EU, designing a certain policy, and reaches via a number of actors (the dotted top down arrows) the micro level of classroom practice, i.e., the pupils that should benefit from this policy. The other triangle represents a bottom up policy activity that starts as a concrete problem at the classroom level and reaches, via the same actors but the other way around (see the bottom up arrows) the macro level of policy makers who respond to it (or not) by developing a policy fit to cure the problem brought to their attention. At the meso level, where the two triangles are maximally overlapping the language policy coordinator is situated. It is expected that this functionality can contribute to facilitate top down processes on the one hand and bottom up processes on the other by being a liaison between policy and practice.

*Figure 2: Processes in language policy development*

Immigrant minority children will, probably after having learned Lithuanian as a second language to some degree, sooner or later be part of the regular Lithuanian

educational system. This does not mean an end to their problems: for surviving in regular education immigrant minority children need more than just survival knowledge of Lithuanian. Since this affects not only the teachers of Lithuanian (as a second language) but also and probably even more so the teachers of other school subjects, the implementation of the Directive in the end can be considered a form of language policy across the curriculum (Corson, 1990). In such an enterprise the availability of a language policy coordinator, who functions as an intermediate or a liaison officer between teachers (as policy implementers at the micro level of the classroom) and the various authorities (school boards, municipalities, ministry, inspectorate) who play a role in the policy making process at the macro level can be considered a very important success factor. The task profile of a (regional) language policy coordinator in Lithuanian multilingual schools would include the management of the change process that the implementation of the Directive brings about at the level of the school and the classroom. In this context special attention has to be given to the role of the teachers. Without keeping close contact and cooperation with these central 'change agents', without providing initial and in-service teaching to them in the field of multilingualism and education, without taking serious their perspectives and experiences in teaching Lithuanian as a second language and other languages than Lithuanian, the implementation of the Directive will turn out to be even more difficult than it no doubt already is.

## 6 Concluding remarks

The above can be read as a plea for seriously investigating and monitoring the implementation of the 1977 *Directive of the Council of the European Communities on the schooling of children of migrant workers* in Lithuania as an act of language policy. The main reason for this plea can be found in the obviously an naturally existing distance between the historical 'invention' in the nineteen seventies of the language policy that the Directive represents and the actual implementation of this policy in Lithuania in the twenty-first century. From a language policy implementation perspective, this distance could easily lead to frustrating and hampering the execution and success of the Directive in Lithuania. Mainly in view of the already existing and still growing linguistically speaking mosaic character of Lithuanian society, and not so much because of the fact that the Directive *has* to be implemented as part of the *acquis communautaire*, this has to be considered an unwanted development. Not far the sake of symbolic European policy making but for the sake of the school and societal success of the immigrant minority children involved, successful teaching of Lithuanian as a second language and languages and cultures other than Lithuanian is an important language policy goal. It is hoped and expected that the implementation of the Directive in Lithuania will lead to a renewed consideration and discussion of its relevance, applicability and implementation to the benefit of also other than only newly arriving immigrant minority pupils. In this context a plea for explicitly including aspects of multicultural education for all pupils in Lithuania, and not only for newly arriving immigrants as an essential and integral part of the curriculum of primary and secondary schools is a logical and natural step in educational language policy making. The MATRA project has already taken a first step in the form of the textbook on socio-cultural orientation by Degėsys and Aškinytė, which is explicitly developed for use in mixed (Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian) classes.

## References

Baker, C. (2001), *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

- Blommaert, J. (2001), The Asmara Declaration as a Sociolinguistic Problem: Reflections on Scholarship and Linguistic Rights. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5, 1, 131-142.
- Cooper, R.L. (1989), *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Corson, D. (1990), *Language Policy Across the Curriculum*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.
- De Varennes, F. (1996), *Language, Minorities and Human Rights*. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- De Vries, J. (1995), Language Policy and Regional Characteristics of Minority Language Communities. In: W. Fase, K. Jaspaert & S. Kroon (eds.), *The State of Minority Languages> International perspectives on Survival and Decline*. Lisse, Swets & Zeitlinger, 135-151.
- Extra, & D. Gorter (eds.), *The Other Languages of Europe*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.
- Grumadiene, L. (1997), Lithuania. In: H. Goebel et al. (eds.), *Kontaktlinguistik*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1912-1919.
- Hailemariam, C. (2002), *Language and Education in Eritrea. A Case Study of Language Diversity, Policy and Practice*. Amsterdam, Aksant Academic Publishers.
- Kaplan, R.B. & R.B. Baldauf Jr. (1997), *Language Planning From Practice to Theory*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.
- Kroon, S. (1992), *Opportunities and Constraints of Community Language Teaching. An Evaluation of the Work of the EC Pilot Project Community Languages in the Secondary Curriculum in London and Birmingham*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kroon, S. (2000), Language Policy Development in Multilingual Societies. In: T. van der Meer & M. den Elt (eds.), *Nationalities and Education: Perspectives in Policy making in Russia and the Netherlands*. Utrecht, Sardes, 15-38.
- Ozolins, U. (2003), Language Policy and Multiculturalism in Australia: Diversity and Coherence. Paper Tilburg University.
- Proposal (2001). *The implementation of EU Directive 77/486/EEC on the education of the children of migrant workers: the Lithuanian case. Proposal within the framework of MATRA Pre-Accession Programme (MAT01/LT/9/2)*. Utrecht/Tilburg: Sardes/ Babylon.
- Reid, E. & H.H. Reich (eds.)(1993), *Breaking the Boundaries. Migrant Workers' Children in the EC*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Smeets, R. (2002), *Naar een samenhangend taalbeleid voor het Nederlands vanuit Europees perspectief*. Den Haag, Nederlandse Taalunie.
- Strategisch akkoord (2002), *Strategisch akkoord voor kabinet CDA, LPF, VVD. Erken aan vertrouwen, een kwestie van aanpakken*. 3.7.2002 (mimeo).
- Trifunovska, S. & F. de Varennes (eds.), *Minority Rights in Europe. European Minorities and Languages*. The Hague, T.M.C. Asser Press.